

Phonological factors in Tagalog adjective-noun word order variation^{*}

Stephanie S Shih
Stanford University/UC Berkeley
stephsus@stanford.edu

Kie Zuraw
UCLA
kie@ucla.edu

1 INTRODUCTION TAGALOG ADJECTIVE/NOUN PAIRS

- Both orders are possible and claimed to be semantically interchangeable = “without any apparent difference in meaning” (Schachter and Otnes 1972: 122):

(1) magandá-ng babáe ~ babáe-ng magandá (Kroeger 1998)
 beautiful-LINK woman woman-LINK beautiful ‘beautiful woman’

- Elsewhere, it’s been shown that word order variation can be conditioned by numerous factors
 - phonological, syntactic, semantic, usage-based, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic (e.g., McDonald et al. 1993; Wasow 2002; Wright, Hay & Bent 2005; Benor & Levy 2006; Bresnan et al. 2007; Anttila et al. 2010; and references therein).

❖ What factors (if any) condition Tagalog adjective/noun word order variation?

- An additional wrinkle:
- The “linker” morpheme, attached to first word, has phonologically conditioned allomorphs:

(2) a. If word ends in V, add *ng* ([*-ŋ*]): babáe → babáe-ng ‘woman’
 b. If word ends in /*n*/ or /*ʔ*/, change it to *ng* ([*ŋ*]): karaniwan → karaniwa-ng ‘ordinary’
 c. If word ends in any other C, add [*na*]: itím → itím na ‘black’

❖ Do factors that condition word order variation depend on the phonological (surface) form of the linker?

1.1 THIS TALK

- Large-scale corpus study investigating factors affecting adjective/noun order.
- As far as we know, this is the first systematic study of Tagalog adjective/noun order variation.
- In particular, we focus on phonological factors that may affect order, including segmental and prosodic well-formedness conditions.

^{*} Acknowledgments to RAs Seth Ronquillo, Arienne Filio, and Kimberly Nachor for data checking; Vera Gribanova, Laura McPherson, and participants in the UCLA Phonology Seminar for comments. Ivan Tam developed the software that created the Tagalog corpus.

Handout available <http://stanford.edu/~stephsus/ShihZuraw-LSA2014.pdf>

Results

- In addition to semantic and usage-based factors, phonological conditions influence adjective/noun word order in Tagalog.
- Word order is conditioned in part by the phonological surface form of the linker particle.
 - ↳ Word order can optimize phonological well-formedness (see also Schlüter 2005; Shih, in prep).
 - ↳ Phonological (surface) information is available at the point of word order choices.
- Theoretical implications of our results:
 - for understanding the role of phonology in determining word order, and
 - for considering the design of the interface between phonology, morphology and syntax in both formal grammatical models and psycholinguistic models of language production.

2 DATA

2.1 TAGALOG WEB TEXT CORPUS FROM (ZURAW 2006)

- Web text from 2004, variety of genres
- 47,144,971 word tokens, 105,464 word types

2.2 ADJECTIVE/NOUN PAIR EXTRACTION

- Nouns and adjectives automatically and manually extracted from part-of-speech tags on the SEAsite online Tagalog-English dictionary (SEAsite 2001).
- Searched corpus for all possible noun-linker-adjective and adjective-linker-noun sequences.
- Automatic exclusion of pairs in the following circumstances:
 - instances wherein the second word potentially had a *ng* linker
 - instances with punctuation occurring between the two words
 - instances where a noun or adjective must bear a certain affix according to the Seasite Dictionary but does not
 - instances with the following tokens: *alám*, *am*, *dápat*, *habang*, *hanggáng*, *lamáng*, *said*, *sayá (ng)*, *tápos*, *tódo(ng)*, *úpang*¹
- Adjective/noun pairs hand-checked by three Tagalog-English bilinguals:
 - 1,205 noun/adjective pairs (types) were selected, to include the nouns and adjectives occurring most frequently in the set, as well as the most-frequent pairs.
 - 11 words identified as problematic: adverbs rather than adjectives; ambiguities caused by linker (e.g., *noóng* could be *noó-ng* ‘forehead’ + linker, or *noóng* ‘when-past’).
 - Adjective/noun pairs containing any problematic words were excluded.
- Words’ stress patterns manually obtained from a paper dictionary (English 1986).

¹ *Am* (e.g., versus PM) and *said* were excluded as English words. The rest are more commonly used as verbs (*alam*, *dapat*), prepositions (*habang*, *hanggang*, *tapos*, *upang*), quantifiers (*todo*), or enclitics (*lamang*, *saya*).

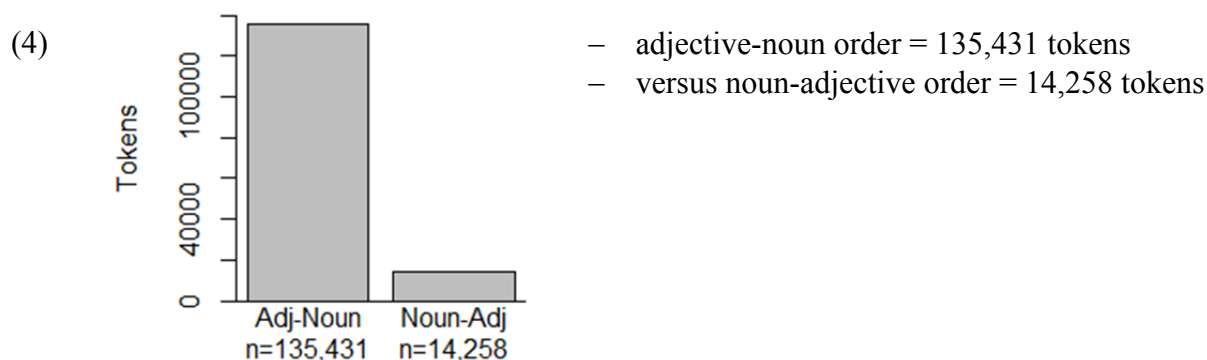
- 149,689 adjective/noun pair tokens, 14,591 types
 - 1,708 noun types, 587 adjective types
 - Some caveats = potential sources of noise:
 - *X*-linker-*Y* might not form a constituent: *Y* may be part of a complex modifier.
- (3) a. *táo-ng armádo* ‘person-LINK armed’
 b. *táo-ng armádo sa kanilang ika-apat na henerasyon mobile na aparato*
 ‘person- LINK armed with their fourth LINK generation mobile LINK device’
- We don’t know which pairs are predicates and which are not (claimed to be important by Schachter and Otnes 1972).
 - We don’t know if either of the words is focused or represents new information, etc. (though we hope to add givenness information in future versions of the corpus)s

3 METHODOLOGY

- Mixed-effects regression model using `glmer()` from `lme4` R package (Bates et al. 2013; R Core development team):
 - Multivariate analysis controls for numerous predictors at once.
 - Data: unique adjective/noun combinations ($n = 14,591$)
 - Dependent variable: rate of noun-adjective order
 = (Instances in noun-adjective order) / (Total instances in both orders)
 - Predictors were centered; numerical predictors also standardized following (Gelman & Hill 2007; Gelman 2008).
 - Random intercepts: noun, adjective
- (We are also working on a binomial model of adjective/noun instances, but results are currently not yet ready to be reported due to model convergence details.)
- Independent variables, culled from previous studies of word order variation, descriptions of Tagalog adjective/noun word order, Tagalog phonology, cross-linguistically common phonological behaviors (see §5).
 - prosodic phonological predictors
 - segmental phonological predictors
 - non-phonological predictors

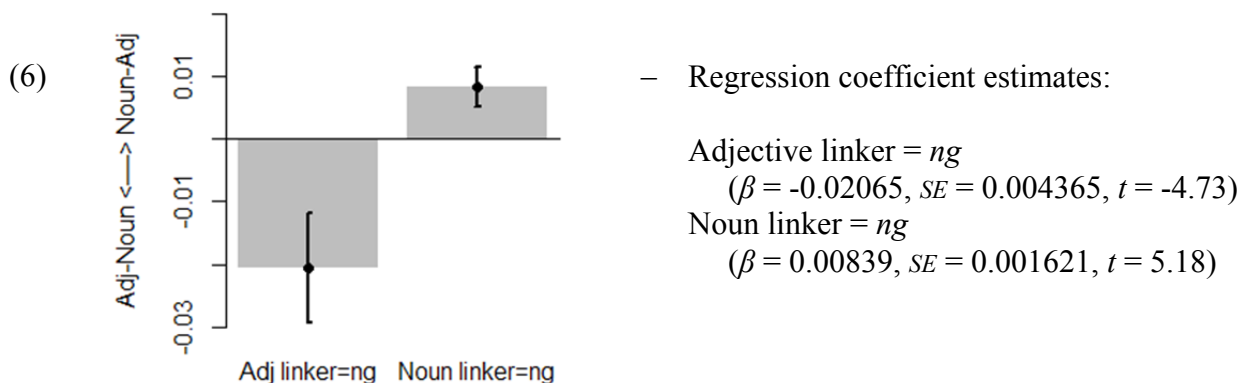
4 GENERAL RESULTS

- Adjective-noun order is overwhelmingly preferred = “default” order?



- Linker preference: *-ng* linker preferred to *na*.
 - (Schachter and Otnes 1972): If one order requires *-ng* linker and the other requires *na* linker, order that results in *-ng* linker is preferred.
 - Especially true for *-ng* linker adjectives.

- (5) a. áso-**ng** ulól *is more frequent than* ulól **na** áso
dog-LINK mad mad LINK dog ‘mad dog’
- b. bágo-**ng** títsér > títsér **na** bágo
new-LINK teacher teacher LINK new ‘new teacher’

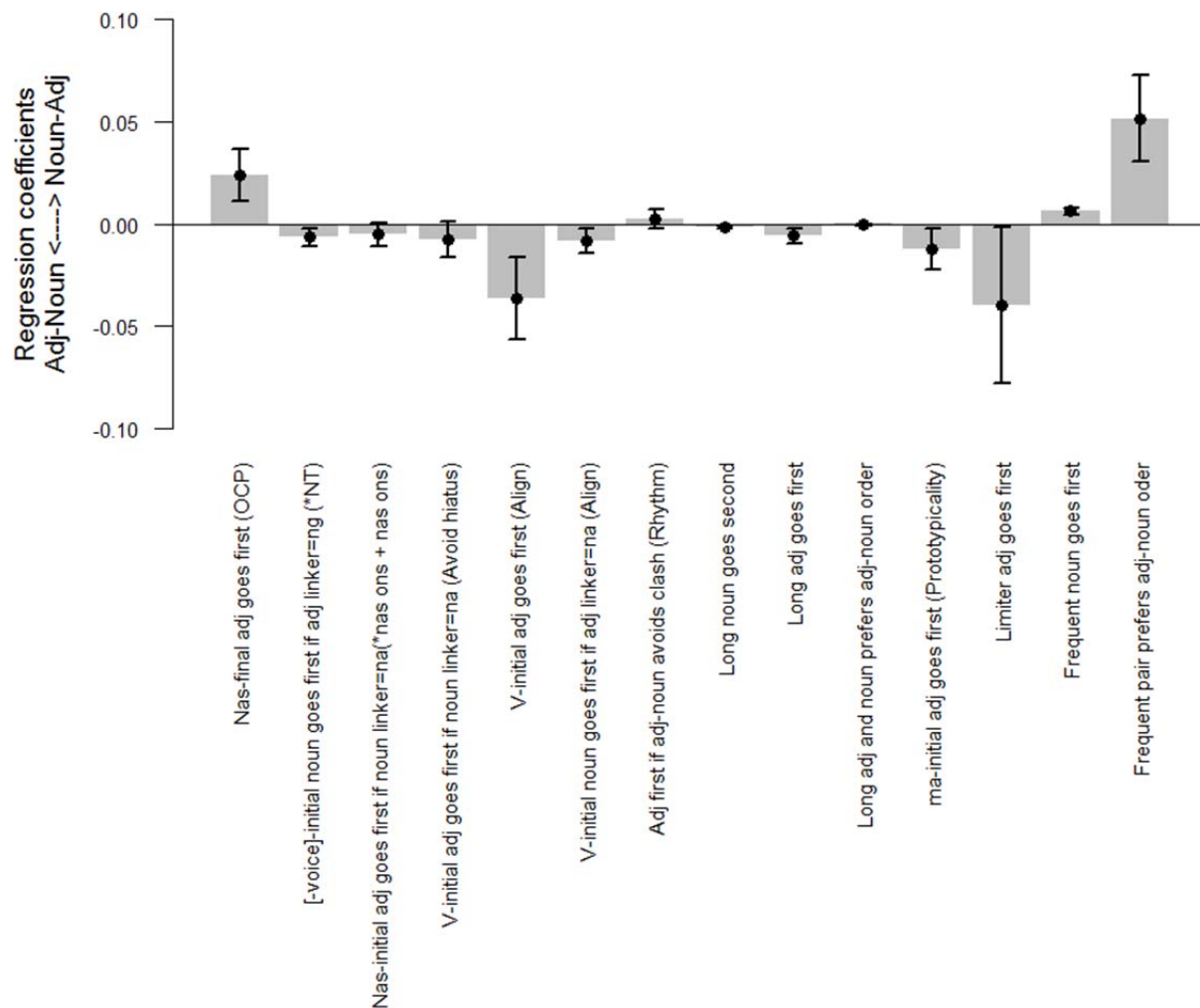


| (7) | <i>Phonological predictors tested</i> | <i>Effect?</i> |
|-----|---|----------------|
| a. | Phonotactic, Obligatory Contour Principle | |
| | *[nasal] + [nasal] | ✓ |
| | *[velar] + [velar] | ✗ |
| b. | Contextual markedness (e.g., *NÇ) | ✓ |
| c. | Long-distance phonotactics (e.g., *nasal onset + nasal onset) | (✓) |
| d. | Phonological faithfulness (e.g., avoid replacing [ʔ] with nasal) | ✗ |
| e. | Hiatus avoidance (e.g., *V+V) and syllable structure optimization | (✓) |

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| f. | Phonological and morphological alignment | ✓ |
| g. | Stress lapse avoidance | (✓) |
| h. | Stress clash avoidance | (✓) |
| i. | Length in segments of adjective and noun | ✓ |
| j. | Linker surface form (-ng versus na) | ✓ |

| (8) <i>Non-phonological predictors tested</i> | | <i>Effect?</i> |
|---|--|----------------|
| a. | Adjective prototypicality (<i>ma-</i> prefix) | ✓ |
| b. | Quantifier/limiter adjectives | ✓ |
| c. | Total length in segments | ✓ |
| d. | Log frequency: word, pair (calculated from Tagalog Web Text Corpus (Zuraw 2006)) | ✓ |

- (9) Regression coefficients of reliable and trending predictors (see details in §5)



5 RESULTS: PREDICTORS OF ADJ/NOUN WORD ORDER

5.1 SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY RESULTS

5.1.1 *Obligatory Contour Principle effects*

- Avoidance of adjacent similar segments affects genitive construction choice in English: adjacent sibilants are avoided (Menn & MacWhinney 1984; Zwicky 1987; a.o.).

(10) Genitive alternation (Hinrichs & Szmrecsányi 2007; a.o.)

the descendants of the veterans > the veterans + 's descendants

- Root-internally in Tagalog, nasal-nasal sequences are underrepresented:
 - In a database of 4,617 native, disyllabic roots (from English 1986), of which 1,579 have a medial cluster, we expect 51 nasal-nasal medial clusters, but find only 8.
- Tagalog word order: *[nasal] + [nasal] sequences involving [m, ŋ] + *na* linker are dispreferred.
 - ↳ Avoid [m, ŋ]-final adjective in first position, which takes linker *na*.
($\beta = 0.023796$, $SE = 0.006402$, $t = 3.72$)

(11) tsinélas **na** itím > itím **na** tsinélas
slippers LINK black black LINK slippers 'black slippers'

5.1.2 *Contextual markedness: *NÇ*

- Cross-linguistically, NÇ clusters can trigger a number of phonological repairs (e.g., deletion, assimilation, fusion; Pater 1996, 2001).
- The *NÇ constraint (Pater 1996, 2001; Hayes and Stivers 1996) is active at Tagalog prefix-stem boundaries, as in many related languages (see Zuraw 2010 for more):

(12) A stem-initial voiceless obstruent usually fuses with a preceding nasal, but a voiced obstruent usually does not.

a. /ma-paŋ-kamkám/ → [ma-pa-ŋamkám] 'rapacious'
b. /paŋ-diníg/ → [pan-diníg] 'sense of hearing'

- Tagalog word order: Avoid linker *-ng* + voiceless-initial noun.
($\beta = -0.006461$, $SE = 0.002127$, $t = -3.04$)

(13) péra-ng nakalaán > nakalaá-**ng** péra
money-LINK dedicated dedicated-LINK money 'dedicated money'

5.1.3 Long-distance phonotactics

- Non-local onset similarity avoidance is perhaps a bit more unusual, but repeated similar or identical sequences are often avoided (Stemberger 1981; Menn & MacWhinney 1984; Yip 1998; Frisch et al. 2004; Löfstedt 2010).
- (14) Center-embedding of possessive NPs in Ancient Greek blocked when a sequence of adjacent identical articles would be formed (Golston 1995: 353).

- a. [[**h-ee** tólm-a] [t-óon leg-ónt-oon]]
 the-N:F courage-N:F the-G:M:P speak-ing-G:M:P
 ‘the courage of those speaking’
- b. ✓[[**h-ee** [t-óon leg-ónt-oon] tólm-a]
 the-N:F the-G:M:P courage-N:F speak-ing-G:M:P
 ‘the courage of those speaking’
- c. [[[t-óon oikeí-oon] tin-às] [t-óon ekeín-oon]]
 the-G:M:P slave-G:F:P some-A:F:P the-G:M:P those-G:M:P
 ‘some of the slaves of those [people]’
- d. *[[[t-óon [t-óon ekeín-oon] oikeí-oon] tin-às]
 the-G:M:P the-G:M:P those-G:M:P slave-G:F:P some-A:F:P
 ‘some of the slaves of those [people]’

- Tagalog word order: trend of onset similarity avoidance between *na* linker and following N-initial adjective.
 ↳ Avoid linker *na* + N-initial adjective.
 ($\beta = -0.005072$, $SE = 0.002816$, $t = -1.8$)

- (15) **maóng na kupás** > **kupás na maóng**
 denim LINK faded faded LINK denim ‘faded denim’

5.1.4 Syllable structure effects

- Hiatus avoidance and ONSET (Prince & Smolensky 1993:17) affects binomial ordering of name pairs in English (Wright et al. 2005; Benor and Levy 2006; a.o.)

- (16) John and Yoko > Yoko and John

- Tagalog word order: trend of hiatus (and resulting [ʔ] epenthesis) avoidance in noun-adjective order:
 ↳ Avoid *na* linker + V-initial adjective.
 ($\beta = -0.007616$, $SE = 0.004399$, $t = -1.73$)

- (17) **espesyál na bágay** > **bágay na ?espesyál**
 special LINK thing thing LINK ordinary ‘special thing’

5.1.5 Phonological and morphological alignment

- Morpheme boundaries prefer to coincide with syllable boundaries.
 - e.g., (McCarthy & Prince 1993) ALIGN(Stem, Right; Syllable, Right) for Axininca Campa, Lardil, Hebrew, Bedouin Arabic, and Kamaiurá
 - Alignment between syllable boundaries and higher-level boundaries can affect ordering of syllables in these cases as well: e.g., choice between [na.ta] and *[ta.na] in Axininca Camp depends on ALIGN-L.
- Tagalog word order: V-initial words prefer to be initial, avoiding resyllabification or glottal stop insertion.

↳ Avoid V-initial adjectives in second position.
($\beta = -0.036161$, $SE = 0.010007$, $t = -3.61$)

- (18) **ordináryo-ng táo** > **táo-ng ordináryo**
 ordinary-LINK person person-LINK ordinary ‘ordinary person’

↳ Avoid *ng* linker + V-initial noun.
($\beta = -0.008055$; $SE = 0.003014$, $t = -2.67$)

- (19) itlóg na pulá > pulá-**ng** itlóg
egg LINK red red-LINK egg ‘red [brined] egg’

5.2 PROSODIC PHONOLOGY RESULTS

5.2.1 Rhythm

- Stress clashes are avoided via alternative word order in English (see also Temperley 2009):
 (20) Clash avoidance leads to avoidance of *a*-adjectives in prenominal positions in diachronic change in English (Schlüter 2005).

- a.
- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----|-----|-------|----------------------|
| σ̇ | σ | σ | σ | σ | σ̇ |
| the | pérson | who | was | awáre | > ? the awáre pérson |

- b. > ^{σ σ σ σ} ^{??} the **asléep pérson**

- Stress lapses are avoided via alternative word order in English:

(21) Genitive alternation (e.g., Shih et al. to appear; Shih in prep; see also binomial pair ordering: McDonald et al. 1993; Wright et al. 2005; Benor & Levy 2006)

$\acute{\sigma} \ \sigma \quad \acute{\sigma} \ \sigma \ \sigma$ $\acute{\sigma} \ \sigma \ \sigma \ \sigma \ \sigma \ \acute{\sigma} \ \sigma$
 the sýstem's b́enefits > the b́enefits of the sýstem

- Background: Tagalog primary stress is contrastive: can be final, penultimate, or in some loans, antepenultimate.
- Stressed non-final vowels are notably longer than unstressed.
- Secondary stress is not fully understood for Tagalog (French 1988; French 1991; a.o.).
 - Usually not included in dictionary; we did not attempt to annotate for it

➤ Tagalog word order: trends in data towards clash and lapse avoidance in adjective-noun word order. The trends are evidenced in a subset of the data controlling for word length (since rhythmic measures are correlated with word length).

➤ Tagalog word order: primary stress clashes caused by adjective-noun order are avoided. (in data subset with bi- and tri-syllabic words only: $\beta = 0.002865$, $SE = 0.002732$, $t = 1.049$)

(22) $\acute{\sigma} \ \sigma \quad \sigma \ \acute{\sigma} \quad > \quad \sigma \ \acute{\sigma} \quad \acute{\sigma} \ \sigma$
 báya-ng sawí? > sawí-ng báyan ‘unfortunate
 country-LINK unfortunate unfortunate-LINK country country/people’

➤ Tagalog word order: long primary stress lapses (3 or more unstressed syllables) are avoided in adjective-noun order. (in data subset with bi- and tri-syllabic words only: $\beta = -0.004239$, $SE = 0.002431$, $t = -1.744$)

(23) $\sigma \ \sigma \ \acute{\sigma} \ \sigma \quad \acute{\sigma} \ \sigma \quad > \quad \acute{\sigma} \ \sigma \ \sigma \quad \sigma \ \sigma \ \acute{\sigma}$
 espesýál na áraw > áraw na espesýál
 special LINK day day LINK special ‘special day’

5.2.2 Weight/length

- Heavier/longer constituents tend to come at the peripheries (Behagel 1909; Quirk et al. 1985; Hawkins 1994; Wasow 2002; a.o.).
 - In English, heavier/longer constituents come last. In V-final languages like Japanese, heavier-longer constituents tend to come first (e.g., Hawkins 1994: 426).
 - Numerous proposals for the underlying cause of heavy-to-edge phenomena include processing-based (e.g., Gibson 2000; Temperley 2006), syntactic (e.g., Wasow 2002), and prosodic explanations (Zec and Inkelas 1990; Zubizarreta 1998; Anttila et al. 2010; a.o.) (see Szmrecsányi 2004; Grafmiller & Shih 2011 for empirical comparisons of these proposals).

- (24) “Heavy-last” in genitive syntactic variation in English (e.g., Rosenbach 2005; Hinrichs and Szmrecsányi 2007; Grafmiller and Shih 2011; Shih et al., to appear):
- [the attitude]_{NP} of [people who are really into classical music and feel that if it’s not seventy-five years old, it hasn’t stood the test of time]_{NP} >
 - [people who are really into classical music and feel that if it’s not seventy-five years old, it hasn’t stood the test of time]_{NP}’s [attitude]_{NP}
- Tagalog word order is usually VSO and, like English, heavy-last is expected (cf. Japanese).
 - e.g., Relative clause order is variable, but Schachter and Otnes (1972: 123) note a “tendency to prefer the order head-linker-modifier when the modifying phrase is long.”
- (25) ang pagkái-ng nilúto mo > ang nilúto mo-ng pagkáin (S&O 1972: 123)
 DET food-LINK cooked you DET cooked you-LINK food ‘the food you cooked’
- Tagalog word order: Results here, however, demonstrate a different effect: long words (with more segments) tend to prefer canonical, “default”, adjective-noun order². (Also tested syllable count with the same result.)
- ↳ Longer nouns prefer default second position.
 ($\beta = -0.001574$; $SE = 0.000445$, $t = -3.54$)
- (26) dakíla-ng kapangyaríhan > kapangyaríha-ng dakíla?
 great-LINK power power-LINK great ‘great power’
- ↳ Longer adjectives prefer default first position.
 ($\beta = -0.005807$; $SE = 0.00179$, $t = -3.23$)
- (27) pansamantalá-ng lúpon > lúpo-ng pansamantalá
 temporary-LINK committee committee-LINK temporary ‘temporary committee’
- ↳ Interaction for long nouns and long adjectives, even more “default” effect: longer nouns and adjectives prefer adjective-noun order.
 ($\beta = -0.000381$, $SE = 0.000209$, $t = -1.82$)
- (28) pangunáhi-ng katotohánan > katotohána-ng pangunáhin
 basic-LINK fact fact-LINK basic ‘basic facts’
- Possible explanation (for future inquiry):
 - In order to ease processing of heavy constituents, default order is used?

² cf. Donohue (2007:360, fn 11), who observes that “relative length” affects order.

5.3 NON-PHONOLOGICAL RESULTS

5.3.1 *Prototypical adjectives*

- Prototypical items are more easily accessed, and tend to come first in word order (Kelly et al. 1986).
- In Tagalog, adjectives are often formed from *ma-* prefix (e.g., *ma-baho* ‘malodorous’ from *baho* ‘bad smell’).
- Tagalog word order: *Ma-* initial adjectives—i.e., “prototypical” adjectives—prefer the pre-dominant adjective-noun order.
($\beta = -0.012272$, $SE = 0.005007$, $t = -2.45$)

(29) **mabáho**-ng utót > utót na **mabáho**?
 malodorous-LINK fart fart LINK malodorous

5.3.2 *Limiters*

- Schacter and Otnes (1972:121): “Limiter adjectives” (e.g., cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, quantifiers) prefer first position.
($\beta = -0.039683$, $SE = 0.018935$, $t = -2.1$)

(30) **lahát** na táo > táo-ng **lahát**
 all LINK person person-LINK all ‘all people’

5.3.3 *Frequency*

- More frequent nouns prefer initial position. ($\beta = 0.00611$, $SE = 0.000772$, $t = 7.92$).
- Frequency effect for adjectives not reliable (likely because they already prefer first position; also possible ceiling effect of frequency)³.
- More frequent adjective/noun pairs prefer canonical, adjective-noun order⁴.
($\beta = 0.051286$, $SE = 0.01049$, $t = 4.89$)

³ We also found a puzzling interaction between adjective frequency and pair: more frequent adjectives that appear in more frequent adjective/noun pairs (regardless of noun frequency) have a tendency to occur in noun-adjective order ($\beta = 0.007679$, $SE = 0.003173$, $t = 2.42$)

⁴ Pair frequency (how often a given adjective and noun combination occurs) was residualized on both log(adjective frequency) and log(noun frequency).

6 DISCUSSION

- Our study results show that, controlling for non-phonological predictors, phonological conditions influence adjective/noun word order.
 - ↳ Word order alternations can act as repairs to satisfy phonological conditions (see also Schlüter 2005; Shih, in prep; a.o.).
- Similar effects of phonology influencing higher-level operations such as word order and construction choices have been demonstrated in other languages.
 - However, large-scale quantitative studies of these types of effects have mostly been limited to English.

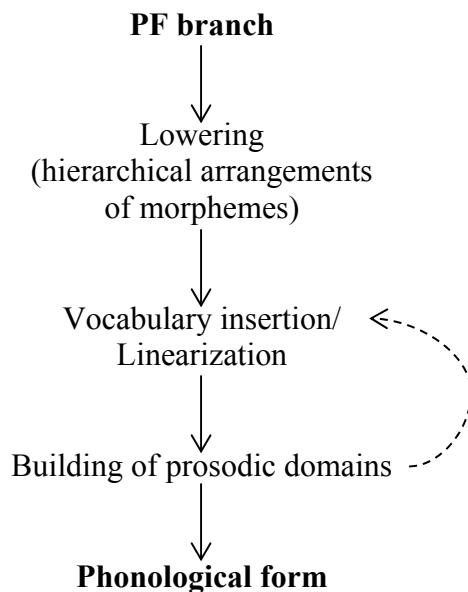
6.1 PHONOLOGICAL EFFECTS ON WORD ORDER IDENTIFIED

- What type of phonological conditions can affect word order?
- Hypothesis (see also e.g., Shih, in prep): Phonological conditions that tend to affect word order are ones that hold over syntagmatic configurations—i.e., likely to trigger repairs when elements (e.g., words and phrases) (linearly) combine.
 - *Previously identified phonological effects on word order*
 - Phonotactic, OCP
 - Syllable structure optimization (e.g., hiatus avoidance)
 - Prosody: rhythm, weight
 - *Newly identified phonological effects on word order*
 - Contextual markedness (e.g., *NÇ)
 - Long-distance phonotactics
 - Phonological and morphological alignment
- ❖ (Syntagmatic) phonological and morphological conditions, which are more familiarly satisfied via phonological optimization, can also be satisfied via word order.

6.2 DISCUSSION: THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

- Syntax → Phonology generally have a feed-forward relationship in standard formal models of grammar (Zwicky & Pullum 1986) and psycholinguistic models of language production (Levelt 1989; Ferreira & Slevc 2007; cf. Vigliocco & Hartsuiker 2002)
- A more concrete example: in Distributed Morphology (DM), phonological exponence is not available to syntactic operations (late-insertion theory).
- Current question in DM: What is the ordering of linearization and vocabulary insertion, which provides phonological exponents? (see e.g., Embick 2007).
 - linearization prior to phonological information? (Embick & Noyer 2001; Pak 2008)
 - prosodic structure-building interleaved with linearization? (e.g., Tucker 2011)
 - more cycles through PF? (e.g., Embick 2007).

(31) see e.g., Embick and Noyer (2001: 566)



- Even if prosodic structure is allowed to interact with linearization, the general assumption is that segmental phonological information in the phonological form is largely unavailable and irrelevant for linearization purposes.

- ❖ **Open question:** How much phonological information is available at the point of linearization? How much phonological encoding occurs before/during grammatical encoding?
 - The current study: looks at what happens when there are additional morphophonological processes that compound the problem of available phonological information during linearization.
 - Phonologically-conditioned surface form of the linker particle must be available at the time of choice:
 - *-ng* particle preferred, and
 - segmental constraints (e.g., hiatus avoidance, OCP effects) make reference to the surface form.
- ❖ Suggests that effects of word order are in part dependent on knowledge and availability of surface segmental phonological information (not just prosodic structure).
 - A possible alternative counter-hypothesis would be that the morphosyntax generates both options equally (i.e., both are viable grammatical alternatives) and then phonology filters.
 - *However*, both orders do not appear to be equal options:
 - Adjective-first order is overwhelmingly preferred, even with controls for word, frequency, etc.
 - Phonological structure of adjective-noun order is more closely regulated: a greater number of robust constraints in the model penalize poor phonological structure in adjective-noun order than in noun-adjective order.

7 CONCLUSION

- Presented quantitative study of phonological and (some) non-phonological conditions on adjective/noun word order variation in Tagalog.

Results

- Though variable, adjective/noun pairs exhibit a canonical order preference for adjectives followed by nouns.
 - Phonological conditions—both segmental and prosodic—influence adjective/noun word order preference.
 - The phonologically-determined surface allomorph of the linker particle affects adjective/noun word order choice.
- ❖ Word order variation can be used to optimize phonological well-formedness, suggesting that phonological information factors into considerations of linearization, word order, and/or grammatical encoding.

Next directions

- Variable versus frozen adjective/noun pairs
 - Mollin (2012): Obeying well-formedness preferences that condition variable word order can cause word orders to become frozen → frozen word orders obey well-formedness preferences to a greater extent than their variable counterparts.
 - Do adjective/noun pairs in Tagalog that exhibit less reversibility demonstrate more adherence to the conditions on word order presented here?
 - May shed light on how phonological effects on word order may become grammaticalized over time.
- Variation with linker particle:
 - Variation in linker realization: bare adjective/noun pairs without linker are rare but do occur.
 - Variation in linker surface form: e.g., Richards (1999: 307) reports that some speakers accept linker *na* when *-ng* is called for phonologically, but this only occurs in noun-adjective order.
 - Open questions: What conditions such linker variation? and how does it interact with word order variation?

8 REFERENCES

- Anttila, Arto, Matthew Adams & Michael Speriosu. 2010. The role of prosody in the English dative alternation. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 25(7-9). 946–981.
- Bates, Douglas, Martin Maechler & Ben Bolker. 2013. *Package “lme4.”* <http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/lme4/lme4.pdf>.
- Behagel, O. 1909. Beziehungen zwischen Umfang und Reihenfolge von Satzgliedern. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 25. 110–142.
- Benor, Sarah Bunin & Roger Levy. 2006. The Chicken or the Egg? A Probabilistic Analysis of English Binomials. *Language* 82(2). 233–278.

- Bresnan, Joan, Anna Cueni, Tatiana Nikitina & Harald Baayen. 2007. Predicting the dative alternation. In G Boume, I Kraemer & J Zwarts (eds.), *Cognitive foundations of interpretation*, 69–94. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Science.
- Donohue, Mark. 2007. Word order in Austronesian from north to south and west to east. *Linguistic Typology* 11(2). 349–391.
- Embick, David. 2007. Linearization and Local Dislocation: Derivational Mechanics and Interactions. *Linguistic Analysis* 33(3–4). 303–336.
- Embick, David & Rolf Noyer. 2001. Movement Operations after Syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32(4). 555–595.
- English, Leo. 1986. *Tagalog-English dictionary*. Manila: Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer; distributed by Philippine National Book Store.
- Ferreira, Victor S. & L. Robert Slevc. 2007. Grammatical encoding. In Mark Gareth Gaskell (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Psycholinguistics*, 453–469. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- French, Koleen Matsuda. 1988. *Insights into Tagalog: Reduplication, infixation, and stress from nonlinear phonology*. (Publications in Linguistics 84). Dallas, TX: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington.
- French, Koleen Matsuda. 1991. Secondary stress in Tagalog. *Oceanic Linguistics* 30(2). 157–178.
- Frisch, Stefan A., Janet B. Pierrehumbert & Broe, Michael B. 2004. Similarity avoidance and the OCP. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 22. 179–228.
- Gelman, Andrew. 2008. Scaling regression inputs by dividing by two standard deviations. *Statistics in Medicine* 27. 2865–2873.
- Gelman, Andrew & Jennifer Hill. 2007. *Data analysis using regression and multilevel/hierarchical models*. (Analytic Methods for Social Research). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibson, Edward. 2000. The dependency locality theory: A distance-based theory of linguistic complexity. In Y. Miyashita, A. Marantz & W. O’Neil (eds.), *Image, Language, Brain*, 95–126. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Golston, Chris. 1995. Syntax Outranks Phonology: Evidence from Ancient Greek. *Phonology* 12(3). 343–368.
- Grafmiller, Jason & Stephanie S Shih. 2011. New approaches to end weight. Paper. Paper presented at the Variation and Typology: New trends in Syntactic Research, Helsinki, Finland.
<http://stanford.edu/~stephsus/GrafmillerandShihHelsinki2011.pdf>.
- Hawkins, John A. 1994. *A performance theory of order and constituency*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hayes, Bruce & Tanya Stivers. 1996. *The phonetics of post-nasal voicing*.
- Hinrichs, Lars & Benedikt Szmrecsányi. 2007. Recent changes in the function and frequency of standard English genitive constructions: a multivariate analysis of tagged corpora. *English Language and Linguistics* 11(3). 437–474.
- Kelly, Michael H, J. Kathryn Bock & Frank C Keil. 1986. Prototypicality in a linguistic context: Effects on sentence structure. *Journal of Memory and Language* 25(1). 59–74.
- Kroeger, Paul. 1998. Nouns and verbs in Tagalog: a reply to Foley. *3rd LFG Conference*. Brisbane.
- Levelt, Willem. 1989. *Speaking: From intention to articulation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Löfstedt, Ingvar. 2010. *Phonetic Effects in Swedish Phonology: Allomorphy and Paradigms*. UCLA Ph.D. Dissertation.
- McCarthy, John J. & Alan Prince. 1993. Generalized Alignment. *Yearbook of Morphology*. 79–154.
- McDonald, Janet L., Kathryn Bock & Michael H. Kelly. 1993. Word and World Order: Semantic, Phonological, and Metrical Determinants of Serial Position. *Cognitive Psychology* 25. 188–230.
- Menn, Lise & Brian MacWhinney. 1984. The Repeated Morph Constraint: Toward an Explanation. *Language* 60(3). 519–541.
- Mollin, Sandra. 2012. Revisiting binomial order in English: ordering constraints and reversibility. *English Language and Linguistics* 16(1). 81–103.
- Pak, Marjori. 2008. *The postsyntactic derivation and its phonological reflexes*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation.
- Pater, Joe. 1996. *NC. In Jill Beckman (ed.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society* 26, vol. 26, 227–239. Amherst, Mass.: GLSA Publications.
- Pater, Joe. 2001. Austronesian nasal substitution revisited: What’s wrong with *NC (and what’s not). In Linda Lombardi (ed.), *Segmental Phonology in Optimality Theory: Constraints and Representations*, 159–182. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Prince, Alan & Paul Smolensky. 1993. *Optimality Theory*. Blackwell.

- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London and New York: Longman.
- Richards, Norvin. 1999. Complementizer cliticization in Tagalog and English. *Proceedings of AFLA VI*, vol. 16(2), 297–311. (Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics).
<https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/twpl/article/view/6294>.
- Rosenbach, Anette. 2005. Animacy versus Weight as Determinants of Grammatical Variation in English. *Language* 81(3). 613–644.
- Schachter, Paul & Fe T Otones. 1972. *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Schlüter, Julia. 2005. *Rhythmic Grammar: The Influence of Rhythm on Grammatical Variation and Change in English*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- SEAsite. 2001. SEAsite Tagalog Online Dictionary (Large Tagalog Dictionary version).
http://www.seasite.niu.edu/Tagalog/on_site_dictionary.htm.
- Shih, Stephanie S. in prep. Towards Optimal Rhythm. Stanford, CA: Stanford University PhD dissertation.
- Shih, Stephanie S, Jason Grafmiller, Richard Futrell & Joan Bresnan. to appear. Rhythm's role in predicting genitive alternation choice in spoken English. In Ralf Vogel & Ruben van de Vijver (eds.), *Rhythm in phonetics, grammar, and cognition*.
- Stemberger, Joseph. 1981. Morphological haplology. *Language* 57. 791–817.
- Szmrecsányi, Benedikt. 2004. On Operationalizing Syntactic Complexity. *7es Journ'ees internationales d'Analyse statistique des Donn'ees Textuelles*, 1031–1038. <http://www.benszm.net/omnibuslit/Szmrecsanyi2004.pdf>.
- Temperley, David. 2006. Minimization of dependency length in written English. *Cognition* 105. 300–333.
- Temperley, David. 2009. Distributional Stress Regularity: A Corpus Study. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 38(1). 75–92.
- Tucker, Matthew A. 2011. The Morphosyntax of the Arabic Verb: Toward a Unified Syntax-Prosody. *Morphology at Santa Cruz: Papers in Honor of Jorge Hankamer*, 177–211. Santa Cruz, CA: Linguistics Research Center, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- Vigliocco, Gabriella & Robert J. Hartsuiker. 2002. The Interplay of Meaning, Sound, and Syntax in Sentence Production. *Psychological Bulletin* 128(3). 442–472.
- Wasow, Tom. 2002. *Postverbal Behavior*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Wright, Sandra K., Jennifer Hay & Tessa Bent. 2005. Ladies first? Phonology, frequency, and the naming conspiracy. *Linguistics* 43(3). 531–561.
- Yip, Moira. 1998. Identity avoidance in phonology and morphology. In Steven G Lapointe, Diane K Brentari & Patrick M Farrell (eds.), *Morphology and its Relation to Phonology and Syntax*, 216–246. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Zec, Draga & Sharon Inkelas. 1990. Prosodically constrained syntax. In Sharon Inkelas & Draga Zec (eds.), *The Phonology-Syntax Connection*, 365–378. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 1998. *Prosody, Focus, and Word Order*. (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 33). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Zuraw, Kie. 2006. Using the Web As a Phonological Corpus: A Case Study from Tagalog. *Proceedings of the 2Nd International Workshop on Web As Corpus*, 59–66. (WAC '06). Stroudsburg, PA, USA: Association for Computational Linguistics. <http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1628297.1628306>
- Zuraw, Kie. 2010. A model of lexical variation and the grammar with application to Tagalog nasal substitution. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 28(2). 417–472.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1987. Suppressing the Z's. *Journal of Linguistics* 23. 133–148.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. & Geoffrey Pullum. 1986. The principle of phonology-free syntax: introductory remarks. *Interfaces*, vol. 32, 63–91. (Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics).